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733 "drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog!*'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

114 I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account
764 has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

764 It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to
●766 the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

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ground with becoming ceremonies. Those ceremonies, however, are not the same in all cases, but vary according to circumstances, and the condition of the deceased; for rank and wealth receive distinctions even after death, as well among savages as among civilised nations. This, perhaps, may be easily accounted for. When a great chief dies, his death is considered as a national loss; of course all must join in a public demonstration of their sorrow. The rich man, on the other hand, had many friends during his life, who cannot decently abandon him the moment the breath is out of his body; besides, his fortune supplies the means of a rich entertainment at the funeral, of which many, as may well be supposed, are anxious to partake. Thus social distinctions are found even in the state of nature, where perfect equality, if it exists any where, might with the greatest probability be supposed to be found. Though the earth and its fruits are common to all the Indians, yet every man is permitted to enjoy the earnings of his industry, and that produces riches; and though there is no hereditary or even elective rank in their social organization, yet as power follows courage and talents, those who are generally acknowledged to be possessed of those qualities, assume their station above the rest, and the distinction of rank is thus established. Politicians and philosophers may reason on these facts as they please; the descriptions that I give are from nature, and I leave it to abler men than myself to draw the proper inferences from them.

766 [764]

On the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries and the frantic expression of their sorrow. This scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women.

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These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksons were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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living. The lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it, near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.

Every thing being in order, the bearers of the corpse were desired to take their places. Mr. Calhoon and myself were placed at the foremost pole, two women at the middle and two men at the pole in the rear. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse. As the corpse had to be carried by the strength of our arms to the distance of about two hundred yards, and hung low between the bearers, we had to rest several times by the way, and whenever we stopped, every body halted until we moved on again.

Being arrived at the grave, we were told to halt, then

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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

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764 tering loud cries and lamentations, with all the appear-
766 ance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing.

As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband of the deceased advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave, walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie, which commenced at this spot.

When the widowed chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the East, or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts.

[343] The whole work being finished, which took up about an hour's time, Mr. Calhoon and myself expected that

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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

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People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

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[96]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98]*Ibid.*
[99]*Ibid.*
[100]McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101]Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103]Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105]*Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106]Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107]Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108]Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109]Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110]Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies ob-
648 served when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-